

8 June 1979

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Vienna Parley May Not Escape Linkage

By CORD MEYER

WASHINGTON -- After condemning "linkage" throughout the SALT II negotiations, President Carter will be ironically obliged at the Vienna summit to warn Chairman Brezhnev that Senate ratification of the treaty will depend heavily on how the Soviets behave over the next four months.

One big test of their behavior will be Brezhnev's response to Carter's request that the Soviets pose no objections to flights by U-2 planes over Turkey. The Turks say they will not permit the flights unless the Russians concur. If U-2s cannot be used to monitor Soviet missile testing, it seems unlikely that 67 senators will vote for the treaty.

Carter himself spelled out why these flights are essential in a letter last month to Turkish Prime Minister Ecevit. The letter was leaked, and senators like John Glenn (D-Ohio) mean to use it to insure that ratification is made contingent on the overflights.

Carter's letter confirmed what has been obvious to intelligence experts since the American monitoring bases in Iran were closed down. Line-of-sight coverage of the launch phase of Russian ICBM tests is indispensable for determining the weight and size of the missile. Without this information, the limits set by SALT II cannot be verified.

Mountainous terrain prevents this coverage by the American ground bases in Turkey, and a new satellite surveillance system to recover the lost data cannot be put into orbit until 1984. U-2s based in Cyprus can be equipped in one year to pick up these signals, but they have to be able to fly close to the Turkish-Russian border to insure coverage.

Secretary of State Vance broached the problem to Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin two weeks ago. The only subsequent hint of Soviet reaction has been the statement of a Russian official visitor to Turkey that Moscow would welcome the Turks' refusal to permit the overflights.

The subject will have to be raised by Carter at Vienna with a warning that Soviet obduracy will almost certainly doom the treaty. A three-year gap in American verification capability would be flatly unacceptable to many senators.

a test of Soviet intentions. They would have Carter go further and warn Brezhnev that if the Soviets persist in their efforts to destabilize Turkey politically, they will jeopardize the prospects for ratification.

Turkish officials suspect covert Soviet funding channeled through the Eastern European intelligence services has fueled the leftist demonstrations and mounting terrorism. Clandestine broadcasts into Turkey from East Germany in the name of the illegal Turkish Communist Party are calling for mass protests against Turkey's membership in NATO and for closing down all American bases.

These inflammatory broadcasts have been monitored and translated. After the Iranian experience, this hard evidence of Soviet destabilization tactics against a NATO ally will be powerful ammunition in the hands of a Senate opponent of SALT. Some Carter officials feel the Soviets should be bluntly advised to terminate these broadcasts if they seriously want a treaty.

The Soviet leaders are beginning to show a dawning awareness that their hopes for a treaty depend on how their global actions are judged by 100 U.S. senators. The Russians have grudgingly released a few prominent dissidents, allowed increased Jewish emigration and ended the barrage of microwave radiation against the U.S. embassy in Moscow.

White House aides who are counting undecided votes in the Senate want Carter to press Brezhnev in Vienna for more substantial gestures. A Soviet decision not to veto the retention of the U.N. emergency force in the Sinai, a voluntary removal of MiG-23s from Cuba, restraint in arming the Rhodesian guerrillas and the beginning of a phased withdrawal of Cuban troops from Africa would do much to improve the atmosphere.

Most important, the Soviets will need to avoid public boasting that they have manipulated the SALT negotiating process to force a decisive change in the world balance of power. Such a boast appeared recently in a Soviet journal, "Questions of History," where a senior Soviet official gloated over the success of their SALT negotiating tactics and declared, "The political significance of this victory of the Soviet Union in the arms race unleashed against it can